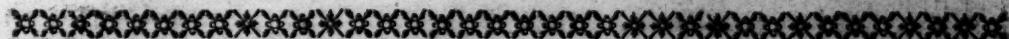
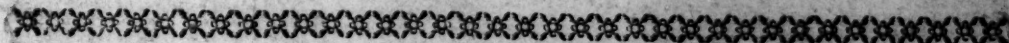


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A
L E T T E R
FROM
ALBEMARLE STREET
TO THE
C O C O A - T R E E.



[Price Two Shillings]

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

LETTER

FROM

ALICE STREET

TO THE

COCOA-RS

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

[The following]



A
L E T T E R
FROM
ALBEMARLE STREET
TO THE
C O C O A - T R E E,
ON
SOME LATE TRANSACTIONS.

— *Every tree is known by his own fruit.*

St. Luke's Gospel.

— Neque gratia, neque precibus, neque pretio impellere potuere —

Sed præter spem bonam ex vobis, quæ metum vicit, statui, certaminis adversa pro libertate, potiora esse forti viro, quam omnino non certavisse. Quamquam omnes alii, creati pro jure vestro, vim cunctam, et imperia sua, gratia, spe, aut præmiis, in vos convertere; meliusque habent, mercede delinquere, quam gratis recte facere.

SALL.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House, in Piccadilly.

MDCCLXIV.



L E T T E R, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

SOME have made the Cocoa-Tree a cover for publishing, and a conveyance to spread, the detestable doctrines of arbitrary power, veiled under the specious title of prerogative ; to which they tackt, what indeed could only hang there, insolent aspersions on some of that illustrious family, under which we so happily enjoy our liberty ; and particularly on one Prince of the blood royal, who defended it with his sword, and saved it by his valour. I shall make no such use of the name : nor will I confound things as opposite as merit and demerit ; or mix men whose conduct divides, whose principles distinguish them. It is fit to discern, and there is a pleasure in doing justice to the—*DIGNOS HOMINES honore honestatos.*

UNDER that character, I do not mean to comprehend nominal placemen, but real pensioners, of five hundred or one thousand pounds a year ; supernumeraries on establishment lists ;—those who hunt after peerages,—*right honourableships* without descent ; those who *serve* for dignities engaged or expected, as the infamous price of base compliances ;—those who substitute sons, brothers, friends, and confidants, to receive *for them* the wages of iniquity, which a self-consciousness of the guilt of earning them, makes themselves seem to blush to take ; or—those who under two reigns of the house of Brunswick, subscribed to a weekly retail of defamation and disloyalty, and only *now* complain of the licentiousness of the press ;—or those who formerly bawled against corruption, and are now so fully reconciled both to the principle and practice of it, as openly, and conti-

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nually, to avow, and justify that mode of administration, because they reap the quieting fruits of it. Such must take their sentence from the mouth of a patriot of *pagan Rome*, *Habere questui Rempub-licam non modo turpe est, sed sceleratum, etiam et nefarium.—Hi pecunie aut gratiæ serviunt; eo fit ut impetus fiat in VACUAM REMPUBLICAM.*

NEITHER can I include those who kiss the footsteps of two n——L——'s, one at home, another abroad, the *purity* of whose publick and private characters is so edifying to the friends of integrity, publick-spirit, virtue, and decorum; worshiping their l——p's influence, or power, with the servile incense of hungry adulation. Nor will I flatter with a share of the compliment some who have of late, (and only of late) been seized with fondness for a certain connection, once the declared object of their utter aversion.

BUT in the Cocoa-Tree, there is, as there has been amongst people the most degenerate, and reprobate, and in the worst of times, a few who do not bow the knee to corruption: there are the sober, the thinking, the honest, and the truly independent, who have not sold their own freedom, and would not barter away the liberty of their fellow-subjects, for the smiles of a Minister, or the prospects of prostitution. These are in truth, what they have wisht to be thought—the friends and defenders of the rights of their country.

OF those who have once put their hand to so good a work, surely none will look back. If their example were effectual to reclaim others, who, allured by the deluding bait, have renounced their professions, and deserted the cause of their country, from which they formerly affected to derive the title they long boasted of; these might yet retrieve a little character, and the publick would receive still greater advantage, from the upright conduct of those who deserve the praise of all that desire to be free.

LET me, then, address myself to the *LIBEROS quibus pretium servitutis ingratum est*: and I congratulate you upon the honour you have gained to yourselves, and the service you have done to your country, by ranking among those, who, with the courage natural to men bred in the bosom of liberty, in spite of power, and resisting temptations, have dared to assert the birth-right, and inheritance of free-born Englishmen. The warmest thanks of the present age are
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not your full reward : Posterity will join you to the roll of those immortal heroes of former days, by whom English liberty swears, as the Greeks did, *Per cæsos in Marathone, ac Salamine*, PROPUGNATORES REIPUBLICÆ.

I am sorry I cannot, with equal cordiality, embrace into my political charity, as true citizens of this FREE country, the whole body to which you nominally belong, however much I dislike the odious distinction of disuniting epithets, and never can adopt them, but when diversity of *principles* compels to it, as the least of two apparent evils.

EVERY good man wishes the whole nation were agreed in Revolution principles ; and if we are one, in that respect, our name must be one. The fire of contest might then, without preying on the vitals of national happiness, waste itself in the diversity of political attachments, and struggles for power ; the disputes about which are the natural offspring of a free constitution, and generally conducive to its vigour, as changes in it are oftentimes necessary to promote the public good.

IN a country like this, when men of sound principles contend for influence, (and if they do not, it can only be because there is a penury of great statesmen, which is a sign of stagnation, rather than a mark of health, in the political body ;) they must not only be rivals in abilities, but emulate each other in zeal, and attention to the general welfare ; which is the fair road to elevation, and the only stability of preferment, in popular, and mixed governments. But when the nation is distracted in principle, an invincible superiority on that side, which adheres to the fundamentals of Liberty, and supports the sacred settlement, which is the corner-stone of its security, is the only defence against the destruction of the whole.

OUR national parties sprung up, with their unhappy names of distinction, in days when the encroachments of the Crown threatened the subversion of the constitution. James I. taught a system of prerogative, consistent with nothing but slavery ; and his descendants, corrupted with his false principles, obstinately pursued his perverse plan, to their own ruin. The unbridled attempts of arbitrary power necessarily produced opposition, then resistance, and at last ended in the expulsion of a race of tyrants ; a succession of which had disgraced the
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the throne, and all but destroyed this country; when their own family fell, the miserable victim of their irreclaimable attachment to despotism.

IF there are yet amongst us any wretched remains of those parties, they are the tattered rags of a direful warfare, between the stretches of prerogative and the defence of liberty; between the faithful friends of a limited, mixed monarchy, and the traitorous advocates for absolute, and arbitrary sovereignty: a dispute, one should think, too unnatural now to be brought back from the dead.

THE disagreeable distinctions that heretofore have prevailed, must be placed to the account of the times, and the circumstances of the nation: but the fortunate change in these should now soften, into general harmony, all former animosities, and eradicate unnatural, and destructive prejudices. If there is a distinction, let it only be between honest men, and those who do not deserve the name; between those who will do any thing for something, and those who will not, on any account, do what ought not to be done. Let the honour and interest, the glory and prosperity of the nation, the just power, and true dignity of the crown, and the rights of the subject, be, as in truth they are, the common cause; and the principles of allegiance, and liberty, the cement of adherence to it. Those who, from any motive, can desert that cause, or deny those principles, will, with their country, stand in the light, in which their own criminal, and contemptible conduct so justly places them.

I am persuaded the Protestant succession is now so firmly established, in the hearts and affections of a people free, and sensible to freedom, that it is beyond the reach of any attempt. The liberties of the subject too, that other Herculean pillar of the constitution, are now so well understood, and the foundations of them so immoveably fixed, as to be, I *hope*, in no *immediate* danger.

THE ministers of this free government may therefore stand on very safe, and very sure ground, while they pursue an unshaken attachment to those great objects: but it will always be dangerous for them, to entrench themselves in their precarious power, and resist the cries, or even despise the clamours, of the people, when they seem to be at all general, or there is the least appearance of ground for them, especially in matters of liberty. The spirit of liberty is a jealous

lous spirit, and not easily stilled. Authority, which is a match for all other opposition, is scarcely equal to its strength; and power itself will not subdue its energy, without a struggle too hard to be endured.

WE sometimes hear that the people are drunk with liberty, and certainly nothing is more likely to intoxicate men who have liberally tasted the sweets of it; for, *nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam libertas est*; as the people testified, when the Roman heralds proclaimed liberty to Greece; and as the English nation shewed, when the glorious Prince of Orange published their deliverance from arbitrary power. But liberty never intoxicates, unless when it is touched by something of an alarming kind which stirs the fermenting quality of it; it is the most peaceable thing in the world, when in its natural state, though the most difficult to be settled, if once put in agitation.

IF the officers of the crown will give the alarm, by intolerable violations of the subjects liberty, and avow, and approve what they dare not pretend to justify; if ministers will mark their administration with *acts of power*, laying open private houses, for the sake of a revenue, so paltry as not to be worth raising, at the expence of the collection, and as unnecessarily, as unprofitably, depriving Englishmen of their unalienable, and inestimable privilege of trial by a jury of their Peers; if they will make questions of liberty tests of their influence, and lukewarmness to the fundamentals of the constitution the badge of obedience to them; if an *arbitrary disposition appears somewhere* in the appointment, and removal from employments; if meritorious military officers, happening to be in a particular station, and of a certain opinion, are dismissed from the service of the publick, without any cause assigned, and therefore for one that dare not be mentioned, though it cannot be doubted*; if the prostitution

* Within a month after his Majesty's accession, Sir Henry Erskine got a regiment, and was at once raised to the rank of a Major-General, and even with an unheard-of precedency over many of that degree; because, it was alledged, he had been put out of the army, when he had only a company, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, by brevet, in resentment for some parliamentary conduct. In the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, General Acourt, and others were dismissed from their military employments, without charge or trial. Why? The ministry know best.—But all the kingdom know they are Members of Parliament, and happened to be of the Minority. Did they who advised these dismissions, consult the honour of their sovereign, the interest of their country, or promote the chastity of parliament, which is the security of the rights and liberties of the nation? *Vide Protests, on the removal of the Duke of Bolton, and Lord Cobham, and who signed them.*

of the highest, and most honourable, trust in the kingdom, is to be the tenure of places : If any of these things are seen, much more if they all concur, the authors of them, whoever they are, and profess what they will, (and authors there must be,) are not the friends of their Prince, or the faithful servants of their master, but will be deemed the enemies of their country : They stain the throne, bring a reproach upon government, and insult the rights of the people. It is to sport with fire-brands and tread upon serpents. Hot heads may laugh at the danger of such conduct, but wise men will beware in time.

ON the other hand, if the people of this country were come to be easy under such things ; not to feel, not to complain, not to oppose the authors and causes of such evils ; they must, indeed, be ripe for the dreadful denunciation. *O homines ad servitutem parati !—To them might be applied the pathetick language of the Roman orators, En illa, illa, quam sæpe optastis, LIBERTAS !—Libertatem magis optatis quam defenditis—Si, QUIRITES, parum existimaretis, quod inter jus a MAJORIBUS relictum vobis, & hoc a Sylla paratum servitium interesset ;—maxima turbamenta reipub. atque exitia probate ; annuite legibus impositis : accipite otium cum servitio : & tradite exemplum posteris, ad POPULUM ROMANUM suimet sanguinis mercede circumveniendum.—*

IT cannot surely yet be made a question, whether we are FREE, or not ? whether we have a constitution, or not ? or whether liberty is as precarious, in England, as it is in Turkey ? But it is denied us to declare we are free, to assert the undoubted rights of the constitution. Should the guardians of our liberty then never declare a fundamental of freedom, in a proper constitutional manner ; by a solemn and seasonable resolution, called forth by arbitrary, and illegal violations of liberty ? If this be beyond the jurisdiction of parliament, parliament is not the thing it has hitherto been believed to be ;—the great palladium of the rights, and liberty of a free people ; a barrier against the power of the crown ; and the sovereign controul of the officers of government. Instead of being, as the great patriots who contended for its privileges, in the days of Stuart—tyranny, stiled it, the fountain of justice, under the safe custody of which, men's estates, and liberties are preserved ; it is divested of a considerable part of its authority, not the least important to the
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ends of its institution, and become a maimed, mutilated court. Or the powers of parliament have been much mistaken, in times when the principles of the constitution were well sifted, and seem to have been best understood, as well as most enquired after; when fierce debate, and fiery contention, cleared up the principles, and settled the boundaries of this government.

WHERE are all the general votes against acts of the crown, and other things, done contrary to the laws and constitution of the kingdom---the resolutions against *betrayers of the liberties of the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, and enemies to the same*; against violations by majesty itself? where the declarations that *sealing and seizing of PAPERS*; charging the subject with great offences, *without witness, without information*; and such other illegal proceedings, were not only breaches of the privileges of parliament, but crimes against the law of nature, against the rules of justice, that his majesty's *own* command, could no more warrant, than it can any other acts of injustice; and that thereby the very principles of government and justice would be in danger of being dissolved? Where are the resolutions against the arbitrary and oppressive sentences of *Bastwick, Burton, Prynne*, and others, in the reign of Charles the First; not to mention those of the Earl of Devonshire and others, passed before, and condemned after the Revolution?

IF the house of commons should derelinqiish the right, or decline to exercise the power of *resolving* with the dignity, and authority of parliamentary declarations, upon points of high concernment to the liberty of the subject, and essential to the preservation of our freedom, especially in the case of violations in the persons of their own members; they would cease to be the grand inquest of the nation; surrender one of their highest trusts; devolve to the inferior courts, that supereminent inspection, with which they are, by the constitution, invested, over the courts themselves, as well as over all other ministers of government; and leave to the ordinary course of particular remedies, matters, the importance, and universal concern of which, call for the gravest, weightiest, and most efficacious interposition of the highest authority.

FOR parliamentary resolutions are not like the words of a *drunken porter*, say so who will. One should think ENGLAND could not have

have bred a man, I had almost said a—, who would talk in so ridiculous a manner: and no body has more reason to stand in awe of parliament, than such as are capable of holding a language so disrespectful to it, so derogatory to the great SECURITY of the NATION. It must proceed from ignorance of the constitution: and to confute the nonsense, would be supposing it is not what it really is. Lawyers, who are generally fettered with the trammels of their profession, may say, as they sometimes have said, that votes of the commons are not considered as laws— “Nevertheless, (as the author of the best constitutional history of England says,) such is their effect, that *few persons are so hardy* as to act directly contrary to these decisions of the commons, since it is, in some measure, to oppose the sentiment of the people whom they represent. Besides, an action directly contrary to a vote of the house, is liable to be questioned, when least expected, and draws upon the actor the indignation of the house.” It may also be remembered, that there are not wanting instances of parliaments declaring things done against liberty, *heinous crimes*, even in an *Attorney-General*.

MANY high, and strong resolutions of parliament, of which we now enjoy the fruits, were made in the reign of Charles the First, by the glorious, and renowned assertors of the privileges of parliament, and rights of the people, (things inseparable in their nature, and in their security,) in opposition to the pernicious doctrines of usurping prerogative, and the violent measures of a wicked administration: The very *pensioned* parliament itself of Charles the Second, could not forbear making the like resolutions, against an arbitrary prince, and a corrupt court. How much more then do they, when made necessary, by the unjustifiable conduct of the servants of the publick, become the time of George the Third, a young and virtuous king, of the illustrious house of Brunswick, whose family has been the bulwark of the liberties of Europe, and the stay of the English constitution; whose heart, stript of all disguise, is the lively image of the wishes of his people, and his *own* inclinations their happiness, satisfaction, and security! A breach of the liberty of the subject, under colour of *his* authority, is the most scandalous libel upon his government; a high affront to his royal dispositions, and an audacious insult upon his repeated declarations.

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THE only thing then to be enquired into, is, if there has, of late, been any just, or reasonable cause, for the interposition of parliamentary resolutions, to assert the rights of the subject, and maintain the principles of liberty, the *essentials* of the constitution. This is a subject, that has attracted the attention of the whole nation, to a degree that no other thing has done for many years, and hardly any one ever did more: It has divided the Cocoa-tree, in a way much to the honour of that part of it to which I am now speaking. I hope, therefore, it will not be considered as an indignity to the name, under it, to attempt to unfold the grounds of the conduct of its *better part*, in justification of them, and of those who are of the same sentiments; and to shew that it is not an invidious, and ill-founded distinction, by which the FRIENDS OF LIBERTY have been signalized in the regards of their country: that it was not a frivolous, or immaterial question, that was stirred, as a *party-business*, and the work of faction, to distress government, try numbers, and see how this or the other man would go; *all*,—imputations, which many strong proofs attest never to have been worse founded.

To answer this end, it is absolutely necessary, though it will take a little more room than could be wished, to lay the foundation right, by a full, and true state of the case, out of which the questions that have been disputed, arise. For from thence only can a just judgment be formed; and one proceeding on other grounds is *partial*, and nothing but the spirit of *party*.

THE violations of liberty lately complained of, were not taken up as the cause of *one man*, but as the concern of the whole; and because they are of the most outrageous, and atrocious nature, tending to undermine the very foundations of our liberty, and to establish the most illegal, dangerous, and tyrannical power, in the officers of the crown. Nor does the character, or crime, of the person immediately affected by them, alter their nature, or one bit alleviate their aggravations, even as respecting him, much less as interesting the publick. Even criminals of the most unpardonable guilt are to be dealt with according to law; and the more obnoxious the party had made himself by his conduct, there was the less reason for outrage in prosecuting him; as the arms of the law are long enough to reach any man. But what is done to any one, may be committed upon

every one; and that which happens to a person suspected, or accused of a crime, may befall the most innocent subject, as no character, or conduct, is a security against imputation, or charge.

THE proceedings themselves, can hardly be exceeded by the most arbitrary acts, in the tyrannical reigns of the *Stuarts*, or in the most despotick governments. The security of personal liberty, restraints upon the criminal powers of magistracy, and the legal checks upon officers of the crown, in respect to the safety of the subject, are among the most important distinctions of this FREE constitution. Distributive justice, between man and man, is administered, perhaps, with as great purity in France, as in England. But French despotism has the *Bastille*, to which any man may be dragged out of his bed, without knowing whither, or for what, he is carried a prisoner; where he must remain, without remedy, till the same arbitrary pleasure that confined, thinks fit to release him. *There* are secret trials, and midnight executions; letters of cachet, by which the first Peer of France may be sent into relegation, and banishment, without judgment, without trial, and without offence, at the nod of a minister. That enslaved people have no habeas corpus, no juries, no goal-deliveries. He that goes to sleep under his own roof, may see the next day in a dungeon, and even be brought to a scaffold, without knowing his accuser, his judge, or his crime. Yet the Kingdom of France was once as free as we are, and had a Parliament of the same nature, with that which England now happily enjoys: a terrible monitor to us to guard Liberty, and to watch Power!

WHAT have we seen in this land of freedom? A warrant;--I should not say a warrant, (for a warrant is a legal authority) but a thing greatly misnamed by that word, signed by a Secretary of State; who, though no Lawyer, might, as an Englishman, and from the advantages of his rank, be supposed to know the fundamentals of liberty, the first principles of the constitution, and, as a high officer of government, might be expected, to be a little acquainted with the duty, which his station owes to his country;--an *unwarrantable* warrant, giving power to four men, of no greater figure than messengers, and of a discretion, probably, proportioned to their literature, and situation, to take up, in the King's name, and, as the paper says, by his authority, as many of the subjects of Great-Britain,

Britain, and, I suppose, Ireland too, as these same learned, and acute messengers thought fit, in their wisdom and humanity, to deem, from any knowledge they had, or could get, (by what legal, or sufficient means I know not,) authors, printers, or publishers of a libel, known to be openly, and publickly, sold at the shop of a bookseller, whose name was on the frontispiece of it, as all the weekly papers, of the same title, had notoriously been for many months.

THIS mock warrant, *but real libel*, as it carried the charge of treason, which, a warrant of commitment issued afterwards did not dare continue, further confers a power, (for it could give no right) to the messengers, whom it invested with so extensive, and critical a jurisdiction, to seize the papers of the nameless, and numberless multitude, of whomsoever they should be pleased to execute it upon; and to bring these dumb culprits, together with the living offenders, to whom they belonged, before the Secretary of State, to be *dealt with according to law*.

SUCH was the tenor of a general warrant of apprehension, issued by one of the highest officers of the crown. But to allow it the name of a warrant, would be giving up the constitution, renouncing the security of our freedom, and removing the great land-marks of liberty. It is, if any thing, a patent of inquisition, an illegal commission, delegating an universal power of caption, not so much as to a bailiff, or peace officer, but to the lowest, and amongst the most illiterate, and, from the protection to which they trust, the most incautious, if not the most insolent, servants of a secretary's office. It is in short a commission, which the great seal itself could not authorize, and beyond the powers even of regality to grant, in this country.

THIS warrant, as it is falsely called, proceeded upon no oath, and without any legal information; though these, till now, have been judged necessary, to put the quiescent powers of magistracy into action, and without them, or something exactly equivalent, no subject ought, or can legally be disturbed, or deprived of his liberty; as otherwise the first, and a very main security of freedom is gone, and every man liable to be taken up, at the caprice of the lowest magistrate, who has the power of commitment. But to speak of this defect, would only be to tell what common sense is sufficient to inform,

inform the most illiterate of; for it is impossible that there can be an information, or oath, charging every body, or rather, indeed, no body, with a crime.

Who can suffer the bare idea of putting such a number, one does not know how many, of the King's subjects, in the discretion, or rather under the arbitrary power, of a rude, ignorant, impertinent, and very likely, interested messenger, armed with the terror of a Secretary's warrant, than which nothing is more alarming, to those most exposed to the oppression of it; as we know by experience, and is indeed very plain from the currency, it is said, they have got, without being questioned?

BUT to expatiate on the distress, and terrible consequences, of seizing PAPERS, would be to insult, not the understanding, but the feelings, of the meanest capacity. A volume of arguments cannot paint this evil in stronger colours, than the self-evident tendency of it will, on the first reflection, represent it to every man who knows what papers are;—the depositaries of every thing that can be valuable, or that a man would wish to be secret, for his own sake, for the sake of his family, his friends, and of all with whom he is, or has been connected: a transcript of the breasts of the living and the dead.

By virtue, or rather under pretence of this warrant, not one, but a great number of the subjects of this kingdom were apprehended. I say *subjects*, for the warrant might, with the same legality, or, to speak more properly, alike illegally, have been issued, or executed against any member of parliament, peer, privy-counsellor, or prince of the blood, as against a printer, or a printer's devil. It does not appear that there was even a colour of suspicion of the fact against many of the poor people who were seized; on the contrary, that a single question, very easy to be asked, would have cleared them of all imputation; which only shews the propriety, and safety, of trusting messengers with such inquisitorial powers.

FIVE days after the date of the warrant, and when, as the fact comes out in evidence, there was a pointed information, by the examination of one person, which might have been taken upon oath, and in the most legal manner; the then supposed delinquent was seized,

seized, in consequence of a *verbal* order, which directed the warrant to be executed upon him in the dead hour of the night. That order, if it had been literally obeyed, might have produced still greater crimes; and I shall not say *who* would, in that case, have been the guilty persons. This was the most wanton abuse of power; and the most determined contempt of the laws of the land; substituting mere arbitrary will for a legal act; since nothing was easier, than to have satisfied the law, so far at least, by issuing a pointed, and precise warrant against the person accused, *by name*, founded on a proper information on oath, charging him with the criminal fact.

The same nameless, general warrant, was the only authority, under which locks were picked, by the hands of a smith; repositories searched, and PAPERS put into a sack, and carried to the Secretaries-Office. If to make the offender a witness against himself, and to condemn him out of his own cabinet, as a *wife printed* letter of the secretaries of state alledged, it was rather, for the times in which we live, a little too much in the stile of Algernon Sidney, who died for some words of a manuscript, taken out of his closet. But the papers seized, furnished paragraphs for the news-papers; and a printed Paphian mysterious pamphlet discovered some, said to have been found among them, of too indecent a nature for me to pollute my pen with mentioning.*

If the thing needed proof, a stronger than this very circumstance suggests, could not be produced, of the danger, distress, and oppression, of ransacking mens privacies: for secrets innocent, but valuable, tender, and delicate (of which papers contain many) are as easily made publick as those of a reproachful kind. Is this then dealing with our property according to law? or what law is it? Was it law even in the days of the Star-chamber itself? The man who unnecessarily, wantonly, and wickedly publishes any secret, that comes to his knowledge *officially*, and especially under violent acts of power, deserves to lose, if not his head, at least his hands, and his tongue. It is an infamous treachery: and though he who did it had as many friends as an honest man should have, in any party, if he had not more, he would not continue long in a situation, that would put it in his power to do the same thing a second time.

* Vide a scandalous note in Mr. W ———'s pamphlet on Lord Chief Justice Pratt's argument.

GREAT, and alarming, as these violations of the rights, and liberties of the subject were; and not the less so that they were attempted to be extenuated by precedent; the arbitrary, and illegal proceedings, in the case lately agitated, did not end, they only began, with the execution of the general warrant of apprehension. The spirit of the habeas corpus act, that distinguishing security of English liberty, was, with an artful design, to deprive the prisoner of an opportunity of contesting the legality of the general warrant, under which so many of the king's subjects had been apprehended; the warrant being justly afraid, to shew its face in a court of law; as it must have done upon the return of the habeas corpus, which was applied for, and ordered, upon the seizure, for which it was the only authority.

THE secretaries of state, and the ministers of their pleasure, more ready to obey them, than to respect the law, and the authority of the king's judges, dextrously changed the custody of the prisoner, by committing him, after they had notice of a writ of habeas being ordered. This of itself was a high violation of liberty; and an example big with all the evils, which the habeas corpus act was made to remedy, that no subject might suffer imprisonment without relief, longer than he could apply to a court of law, to examine into the cause of it. In a preceeding case, we had heard of supposed libellers taken up, under a warrant of the same secretary (in which, however, the persons were named) being kept in the custody of a messenger, five days without examination, (a most illegal practice): but in this, half as many hours did not pass, before an imprisonment was precipitated, to outrun the writ of habeas, known to be already ordered.

THE warrant of this hasty commitment was another illegal and outrageous breach of liberty; as if secretaries of state could not, or disdained to do any thing in a legal manner, when acting as magistrates. James the Second's privy-council, (as appears from the collection of warrants lately published, in justification of the proceedings of the present times,) were contented with committing the seven bishops, for what was then called a libel on the king, to his face, to *safe* custody; our secretaries commit their prisoner, for the same species of offence, to *safe* and *close* custody, that no body might have

have access to him: For so, it seems, the officers of the Tower interpret these words, by their usage: and for the greater security, they had beside the stile of the warrant, particular, and repeated orders, by different messengers, to that purpose, which were strictly obeyed for some days. The solicitor for the crown, indeed, for once ashamed of the utter illegality of such a proceeding, told the lieutenant of the Tower, that the orders must have been a mistake. The prisoner was, however, kept in close confinement, for more than thirty hours after. It was a *mistake* so ordered, and so obeyed, as to be effectual to the unjustifiable end for which it was originally designed.

THESE are the proceedings, which have been the object of publick attention, and enquiry: an enquiry set on foot by publick spirit, and zeal for liberty; without regard to any particular man; at a time, and in a manner, that personal considerations could not, ought not, to have entered into, or affected the great questions in debate. If such a *torpidness* could ever seize Englishmen, as not to be sensible of such injuries, not to resent, and repel strokes, so directly levelled at the vitals of liberty; *Nec cuiquam nostrum liceret, more maiorum, lege uti, neque amisso patrimonio, LIBERUM CORPUS habere.*

THE magnitude and importance of the matter, demanded an *effectual* discussion: But if additional reasons could be necessary, the pretence of usage, set up to excuse what could not be justified, was more than sufficient, to call for an immediate enquiry, and to produce the most authoritative determination. One would be apt to think some extraordinary prudence in those who have ventured to execute general warrants, and an uncommon terror in the poor and helpless persons who have been heretofore oppressed by the tyranny of them, had hitherto kept them concealed from public view, that they have not, before now, felt the indignation of the courts of law. Even those who have not the advantage of the science of the law, could not but perceive at first sight, how inconsistent general warrants were with the constitution. Most people never heard of them, nor knew there was such a thing; and it is no wonder when high officers in the law; (as one honourable gentleman lately declared in publick) were ignorant of them.

HOWEVER,

HOWEVER, if such a course of office has prevailed, without being questioned, or controuled, it was certainly high time to check it; to do justice to liberty; and resist encroachments on the constitution of the most dangerous tendency. It is not more necessary for the people, than it is for the ministers of government themselves, to have the error corrected, and be taught their duty.

WHAT has heretofore been inattention, would, after this, be culpable acquiescence; the greatest enemy liberty has, and might tend to fix, upon the neck of the nation, an insupportable yoke of servitude. Points once debated, only become the more doubtful, for not being determined upon: which makes it most perilous to defer deciding on matters of great, and general concern to the liberty, and security, of the subject.

If precedents favouring so strong of arbitrary power, and usurping prerogative, have, for want of due care, been suffered to prevail in days propitious to liberty, it is doubly necessary to root out the noxious weed, before it overspreads the constitution, the very vitals of which it must prey upon. We should look to worse times, however small the chance of them is, (and smaller it never was,) that provision be not laid up for those who might be disposed to improve bad examples. Kings may be good, and yet not always have ministers like themselves. This we are sure of, that no minister deserves, or is likely ever to possess, the confidence of the people, who violates, or abets violations of their liberty; who opposes the just reparation of it, when infringed, or declines to promote its further security, and protection.

THE publick has been alarmed: for it is not the noise of the rabble that we have of late heard; the rattle of coffee-house, or the clamour of incendiaries, as some have represented it: The serious, and thoughtful, true lovers of the King, and constitution, have been roused by acknowledged, and atrocious violations of liberty. Being justly alarmed, they wished to see an inquiry of great concern, and no less expectation, immediately wound up with some resolutions of a solemnity, and gravity, adequate to the important subject that gave them birth, and suitable to the case from which they arose, to quiet men's minds, and set the fears of liberty at rest. *Non enim agitur de*
recti-

veti galibus, non de sociorum injuriis; LIBERTAS & anima nostra in dubio est.

THE object in view was not barely to condemn general warrants without name: for that the House of Commons did, even in the reign of Charles II. and impeached a Chief Justice of England for granting them; though the revival of the practice loudly called for a fresh check to so dangerous an evil.—Depriving the subject of his liberty without a charge upon oath, or something as strong, is equally illegal.—Close confinement for a bailable offence, arbitrary evasions of the habeas corpus—and above all, the unwarrantable seizure of papers;—were objects highly worthy the weightiest interposition, and an adequate punishment.

WE desired resolutions to vindicate the principles of the constitution, and invigorate the nerves of liberty; to shew that a due sense, and a becoming regard to it, inspire the representatives of a free people: that the just apprehensions of those who choose them, to be their defenders and protectors, are not to be treated as the dreams of fancy, or the murmurs of sedition; nor the voice of freedom disregarded as the language of riot, or curbed as the petulance of faction: that the fundamentals of liberty are not to be taken up, only to be laid aside, as things of no moment, and shuffled into the heap of unimportant, and impertinent matter, that composes the dreg of publick consultations, and the refuse of free debate.

SUCH resolutions would have been highly seasonable at this time: for though it is difficult to be accounted for, if we consider the character of the Prince upon the throne, and the undissembled duty, and affection, that a loyal people have not failed, in any just instance, or on any proper occasion, to express, with a peculiar warmth, since his accession: I say, notwithstanding this; certain it is that a frantick rage seems, of late, to have seized some men, for the word *Prerogative*, and the *Power of the Crown*.

WE have seen hirelings, who, the world has but too good reason to believe, were countenanced, and even paid from a certain quarter, justifying very extraordinary acts of administration, upon no better principles. Writings have appeared, containing the most insolent abuse of the good old King, the memory of whose benign and glorious reign will ever be savory to all true Whigs, and of his royal son,

the valiant defender of our liberty : mixing up in these scandalous, and hitherto unpunished libels the exploded notions of prerogative, and absolute power. At last a book has come out (how at this particular season God knows !) that is a professed code of despotism, replete with the most diabolical tenets of tyranny, and teaching a most compleat system of slavery.

Who the author expected to be his patrons, or where he meant to make his court, I cannot tell ; but he is surely mistaken if he thought the nation was ripe, to swallow the sophisticated nonsense he has studied to revive, of divine hereditary right ; Kings above the restraint of law ; unlimited monarchy ; parliaments without power ; the people bound to passive obedience ; the rights and privileges of both but so many precarious concessions of absolute Princes : such are his doctrines without colour or disguise ; true barefaced, hereditary, indefeasible Tory doctrines, without so much as the least art used to gild the bitter pill.

Whether he took his mark from political writings, or was misled by *practical* proceedings, he has taken a short way of ending disputes about liberty, by cutting the gordian knot : and whatever was the ground of his error, it should seem he judged this a proper season for publishing his infernal canon, in opposition to the creed of those whom he calls *New-Statists*, who maintain a *mixture of government*. He tells us in his introduction, " That the people have lately been led away by strange notions, that what is binding to the people, should be also binding to the King ;—that the rights and liberties of the people, since the accession of the House of Brunswick, have been frequently enlarged.—That the *Droit le Roy*, (or his system of the prerogatives of the crown,) has been little understood this century by magistrates, whose duty it is to inculcate, and diffuse its loyal principles : for which purpose, he warmly recommends his own treatise, to those in every branch of government, enumerated in a long list ; and in particular, to the *Secretaries of State* ; not doubting but their loyalty, and zeal, will, like a secret charm, impell them to distribute it."

It is a satisfaction, that by the attention and zeal of some who are *not in power*, this vile book, the doctrines of which are of the *Stuart-age*, containing a poison destructive of the very life of the constitution,

tution, tending to shake the pillars of the revolution, and subverting the foundations of liberty, has not escaped a proper stigma: Impunity, and a toleration of it, in a reign of the House of Brunswick, might have afforded a sanction to its abominable tenets. The censure which it has deservedly met with, as it comes from the highest authority, so it has been given in a true constitutional manner, the most suitable, as well as efficacious, to defend the constitution, against open attacks, or undermining encroachments.

JUDICIAL resolutions of Parliament, seasonably interposed, in vindication of the constitution, not in gratification of mens passions, partialities, and resentments, upon great and general doctrines of magnitude sufficient to draw out its supreme jurisdiction, are the known, the natural, safe, and (notwithstanding the bold scorn of any officer of the law, however high,) the most operative protection of liberty. These rescue, and restore things to their right condition: they do not create, or enact, but actuate, and ascertain what already has a real existence, and ought to be in full vigour: they brighten, and illustrate the principles of the constitution, that threaten to languish, and fade; they quicken, and enliven those that are in danger of decay, and annihilation.

REMEDIAL laws, to facilitate, or enforce the enjoyment of rights springing out of the constitution, are often necessary, and always excellent expedients; but a bill to assert fundamentals, like an injudicious prop, must debilitate, rather than support. One should almost as soon wish to see an act, to declare Magna Charta, or the bill of rights, in force. Declaratory statutes are very effectual to remove a doubt; but they are sure to suppose an ambiguity: when applied to indubitable positions, that are of the essence of liberty, instead of strengthening a part, they give a shock to the whole fabrick. They narrow the broad bottom of inherent principles, darken, and obscure the unwritten volume of the constitution, that every free-born Englishman daily reads, in his own bosom, in what he sees, in what he feels, and in what he enjoys; which, like the *Lex nata, non scripta*, is of greater force, and of more substantial use, than a thousand special provisions, the best penned, and most firmly enacted. Laws of that sort, proposed at certain times, under certain circumstances, and by certain persons, are more likely to prove prerogative-acts,

acts, than statutes of liberty; and, in place of shutting the door against excess, and abuse, to create loop-holes of exception, and omission, for usurpation to creep in at. It is therefore without all reason to say (as has been said) that *they* got a new light, who one day pressed a resolution, and the next refused a bill, to the same effect. The utility of the first was apparent, the danger of the other is obvious. We did not want an act of parliament to new-mould, or amend, the constitution, or to give us a new one; but a parliamentary declaration, which, (as the resolutions on *Droit le Roy* manifest,) is upon general points, the proper, and undoubtedly competent authority, to maintain and enforce that constitution which we are happily in possession of, to correct error, and restrain abuse.

Our expectations are at present suspended for *four months*. In the mean time, it is some comfort, that there is ground to believe that resolutions, upon the great points lately agitated, *when they are made*, will be in favour of liberty: and no reason to apprehend that *one*, very important, ever will, or can receive a negative—that the cries of liberty have been so fully justified; not one lawyer, or statesman having been found, hardy enough to vindicate, or support, the illegal acts complained of:—and that the cause of liberty was so honestly, so ably maintained, and defended, by brave English spirits; and supported by so numerous, and so very respectable a body of those, on whom the hopes of their country depend.

I shall close this head with observing only, how melancholy it is to reflect, that in proportion as the privileges of P—t have been contemptuously and insolently attacked, instead of inflicting exemplary punishment, privilege itself is weakened in a degree unprecedented by any former complaisance, under which a ready tool of the revenge of others, hath happily escaped upon this ever memorable occasion.

You, the WORTHY gentlemen of the Cocoa-Tree, have honourably distinguished yourselves among the friends of liberty. Your country, with gratitude, proclaims your merit; and the voice of liberty will loudly sound your praise. Welcome into the bosom of a free people, and to be numbered amongst the best CITIZENS! You have followed the example of the venerable heroes in the cause of liberty, to whose courage in the senate, and the field, we
owe

owe the preservation of our constitution, the maintenance of our freedom. You have but to persevere in the same glorious path, and your fame will be recorded with their immortal renown.

COULD you desire a nobler testimony to your services, than one you have?—You share the large applauses of so many brave patriots, who on the same trying occasion, with undaunted boldness, contended for the just rights of their country. Amongst the foremost stands a gallant general, pointed out for supreme command, by the unanimous voice of his grateful country: in whose manly spirit, a well-tempered mixture of generosity, and frugality, secures the foundations of true dignity: renowned for his prowess, more distinguished yet by his patriotism; who truly possesses that ANIMUS IN CONSULENDO LIBER, *neque delicto, neque libidini obnoxius*: a brave son of Mars, who follows not alone, but accompanied by many, his spirited companions of the war, wherever liberty leads; who pleads her cause at home, with the same ardor, that he fought her battles abroad; wreathing the laurels of the camp, with the garlands of the Senate; who thinks, and shews, that honour is not confined to military service, but is equally sacred in all situations, and in all capacities.—There is fortitude which despises danger, and defies *dismission*; the independent spirit that makes the MAN; the magnanimity which crowns the HERO;—the bold soldier, the intrepid senator, the fine gentleman, the warlike advocate for liberty! England has a CONWAY, the powers of whose eloquence, inspired by his zeal for the object, animated with the fire of true genius, and furnished with a sound knowledge of the constitution, at once entertain, ravish, convince, conquer.

SUCH noble examples are the riches of the present age, the treasure of posterity.—*Sæpe audiui civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, CUM MAJORUM IMAGINES INTUERENTUR, VEHEMENTISSIME SIBI ANIMUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI.—Scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoria rerum gestarum, eam flammam egregius viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit.*

THE honest, and spirited, conduct of the sound part of the Cocoa-Tree, has done much, towards reducing the state of parties, to that ground on which a division cannot long subsist, or effect great harm.

The banner of prerogative, which was wont to be the much loved regal ensign, will not now triumph over the standard of liberty, which always was the favourite ensign of the people.

If honest men, that have been called tories, are upon the same bottom, and of the same principles with honest men who act like whigs; the ignominious remainder of either name may call themselves, or be called by others, what they please. Their conduct will stamp their character; the original of which, is of an older date, than any party name now existing, and will continue long after time has blotted out the remembrance of the worst of them.

For the last fifty years, the tories have called themselves the patrons of the people; and the whigs thought they were the defenders of liberty, the support of the protestant succession, and the pillars of the constitution. If the characters were real, the difference between them was to seek. But unfortunately they differed in their opinions of each other, not without cause, or they might long before now have been happily united, and the names of distinction annihilated.

Two reigns of the house of Brunswick have not, that I know of, afforded a debate upon any real question concerning the liberty of the subject. The reason is obvious, that the favourite object of their government was more amply to secure it; on which account, foolish writers, like the author of *Droit le Roy*, (enamoured with the sound of *prerogative*,) have said it has been extended in that happy period. Standing armies, foreign connections, or perhaps a misapprehended scheme of excise [not to be likened to a most exceptionable *extension* of it *now* in force] were the only topicks for introducing that subject: and as to any of these there has, of late years, been no dispute, except the recent and repeated, but *also* fruitless endeavours to protect the private houses of the farmer and the gentleman, from the vexatious intrusions of excise officers. What was formerly called the common cause abroad, has been so esteemed at home, and treated as such. Unexampled unanimity of sentiments inspired our councils with unknown vigour, and crowned our arms with unheard of success, in defence of our own just rights, and in support of the general independency of Europe; the maintenance of which is so essential to the preservation of our religion and freedom.

AN important question of liberty however, brings characters to the test, and tries the sincerity of former professions: it elucidates principles, and unmasks pretences. Those who stand forward in that glorious cause, are the true patriots, the sound whigs, come from where they will, and whatever name they go by. They breathe the spirit of the revolution, and strengthen the bands of our security. Formerly the only distinction has been, (but it must no longer continue to be so,) between *country gentlemen* and *courtiers*: it is now betwixt *the friends of liberty*, and *the slaves of power*. Arthur's, or the Cocoa-Tree, Albemarle-street, or St. James's, are not able to confound *things* under a *Babel of names*. St. Stephen's Chapel itself cannot christen those that are against liberty, *whigs*, or those that are for it, *torys*, as long as we can read the principles of the revolution, without the help of treasury-opticks. The distinction between whigs and tories was founded in the struggle between prerogative and liberty; a tory therefore who befriends liberty is a contradiction; the character, excluding the name: by parity of reason, a nominal whig, who is against liberty, is equally inconsistent, the conduct being incompatible with the appellation.

Of such pretenders to a character, which, by their conduct, they contradict, what can be thought; what can be said? If they are of the blood of ancient Whigs, whose glorious achievements, in the cause of liberty have immortalized their name, they only make their own infamy the more indelible, by disgracing the race they are sprung from.—*Vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis non summa opemitemini? — præclara Brutorum, atque Æmiliorum, & Lutatiorum Proles, geniti ad ea, quæ MAJORES virtute peperere, subvertenda—impigræ linguæ, animi ignavi, non ultra (imo non intra) concionis locum memores LIBERTATIS—occupavit nescio quæ vos torpedo, qua non gloria movemini, neque flagitia: cunctaque præsentis ignavia mutastis: abunde libertatem rati, quia tergis abstinetur, & huc ire licet & illuc munera ditum dominorum.*

A rank tory is bad; but a rotten whig, if possible, is still worse. The first has the credit of consistency, if it is his original principle, and he has never quieted his scruples with the profits of compliance. The other is a renegade, who renounces his convictions; forsakes his first love; and cuts off the breasts that nourished him. With whom
these

these gentlemen should associate, I am at some loss to know. Their only fit companions seem to be rotten tories, who retain their principles, or rather their prejudices, and make gain of changing their professions. Let rotten whigs and rotten tories then, go together; and who will envy their society? But an administration, supported by such a confederacy, must indeed be of a very black hue; and its continuance may be judged of from the rottenness, fragility, and incoherence of its props. Nor need any that comes after be afraid of wanting the same assistance, if they have a job to do, which better men will not undertake. Those of such flexible tenets, and pliable dispositions, will always be help at hand, ready to offer their support, upon proper terms; and easily turn with the tide; being *very accommodating in their nature*.

THE favourite cry has, of late, been, to abolish all party names. But managed as it is, I know nothing, that has tended more, than this very cry, to revive, and keep up, what most people were very ready to forget. I own, however, I am for the proposition, but I wish to go a great deal farther. For extinction of names will go a very short way to a coalescence of parties. It is beginning at the wrong end. The axe must be laid to the root of the tree. Let us cut up the foundation of the difference: names will, like the shadow, follow the substance. Till we have but one principle, we cannot be of one name.

No body, I dare say, ever thought; and no friend to his country ever could think, of proscribing men for a *name*; or of barring the conversion of the rankest tory that ever existed. I am sure the practice has been the contrary. Witness the list of honours, and offices, in the last reign; witness how many, who had been called tories, not to say even real Jacobites, were well rewarded for coming into court, where their descendants now flourish, with the additional comfort, of daring to *avow*, and act, upon the same principles of prerogative, and arbitrary power, which their ancestors were paid for pretending to renounce. The fathers, by a seasonable hypocrisy, made their own terms; and, *like the prodigal*, always got the best garment.

THE great minister, who conducted this country to a pitch of glory it never saw before, made it the labour of his administration to extinguish parties, as well as names: and it is a merit, that cannot be denied

denied him, that he was more successful in the patriot design, than perhaps any of his predecessors were, or than any but himself will, for a long time, be.

WHEN he was at the helm, there seemed to be but one heart, and one mind, in the nation. His conduct commanded an unanimity so astonishing in degree, and so amazing in its effects, that those who are now disposed to find fault, though their own acquiescence made part of the general consent, can only call it an *intoxicated unanimity*: a reflection which does as little honour to themselves who now pretend to murmur, and did not before remonstrate, as it does justice to the true spirit of the nation, which then was satisfied, and still is content with what was before universally approved. Unhappy is it, for this country, that some of the labourers fainted before the harvest was gathered!

HONEST men did then, as they do now; for integrity is a consistent character. On the same principle of love to their country, they supported her liberty against foreign enemies, and defend it from domestick violations. In the days of concord, even the rank tory, and the reprobate whig;—the most rotten-hearted of either name, were dragged along with the standard of liberty, as the trophies of a triumphant administration, the measures of which stifled the voice of opposition, and silenced the whispers of complaint. Men of all denominations and characters went one way, because there was not another road open. When an opportunity offers, principle, and pay, discern the multitude: The sound and the sordid, the sycophant and the sincere, then part: Prospects, promises, and provision, draw away the hungry, the greedy, and the gaping: virtue can only carry the virtuous and upright. When those who carry the *bag* shew the way, the *feeling* interest will always be on that side.

MARK, however, the importance of the character of conductors; the greatness of the difference between tories when compelled to follow a whig leader, and when making a true tory system. We have seen tories, under whig conduct, supporting whig measures, and adopting whig maxims: if suffered to act on tory principles, we perceive liberty can only be safe, by keeping out of their reach. Tories, when they take the lead, will wound, not protect her, if she comes in their way.

WE had a minister, alas ! that we have not him still ; who has not only said, but shewn that it was the pride of his heart to humble the foreign enemies of his country, and who thinks he cannot spend the last remains of his health in a better cause, than struggling to maintain the great barriers of the constitution, assert the rights of the subject, and protect their liberty against arbitrary violations. It was the singular commendation of that GREAT minister's administration, not only to be assisted by all the zealous friends of their country, and of the constitution, but to be opposed by none. He studied to unite parties, without confounding principles ; not singly to make names cease, but to get opinions to coalesce, upon the great foundation of revolution principles : and certainly he had the satisfaction to effect an unknown union, and harmony, in the counsels, and operations, the wishes, and desires of the kingdom ; no less honourable to himself, than advantageous to the nation, and beneficial to all Europe.

It is therefore one of the falsest, as well as most invidious pleas, in favour of those who deprived the state of the able, and faithful services of one of the greatest men it ever produced, that they have been more liberal in the ideas, or more engaging in the means for a coalition of parties, than he was, or those who served the crown with him.

His successors may take the merit of receiving the clean and the unclean, without distinction ; of adopting Tories, in the worst sense of the word, as a *party*, bringing their principles with them ; of making them the very root of ministry, and using, even *hiring* prerogative tenets, in defence of measures. I wish them as much good of the scheme as it ought to yield ; I expect none from it, either to the King, or to the nation : for I own, I have no idea of that allegiance which slept, to say no worse, during the reigns of George the First and George the Second ; and did not even awake, for some time after the accession of George the Third ; when, for valuable considerations, it broke forth all of a sudden, like an inundation, but with more of the marks of the four last years of the Queen, than of the characteristics of true *Hanoverian* loyalty.

THAT is a species of whiggism which to me appears to be very inconsistent with the true principle of it ; and I cannot help suspecting some secret spring, some inferior connection, attached those
who

who profess'd it, to the *minister*, without binding them to the KING. I cannot easily believe that they are the true friends of his Majesty's family, who pretend to love or acknowledge him, and failed, perhaps, in both towards his two illustrious progenitors, whose crown he wears. Such a coalition, therefore, or extinction of parties, and party-names, on such terms as these, I have no fancy for, nor do I believe any true Englishman ever will.

For if any hold principles, by which the Gentlemen of the Cocoa-tree are, I think, heinously arraigned, if they avow them, and grossly calumniated if they do not; I say, if any hold these, or the like principles, they proscribe themselves as unfit for any office, and incapable of all trust under the present happy establishment; and any minister employing them might justly be questioned by his country. The principles are the exploded notions of insupportable prerogative, banished with the exiled family; contrary to the foundations of the revolution, inconsistent with English liberty, and irreconcilable with the security of the Protestant succession.

On the other hand, the friends and defenders of liberty, who adhere to its doctrines, and maintain its foundations, and, by their conduct, contradict the opposite maxims, are miscalled when any of them are named Tories: they abuse themselves, and injure their country, if they suffer so groundless an appellation to stand in the way of their serving it. Nor will any real Whig who can distinguish what is from what is not, dream of excluding them from the honours or emoluments of government. A proscription of that sort would be matter of just charge. But it is an idle chimera, a bugbear, set up by those who call out for Cocoa-tree unanimity, and concord, as an engine to bolster up a weak, and wavering administration, against the cries raised by unpopular, and unpatriotick measures.

It well becomes some Gentlemen to talk of *proscription* after what all the world has beheld. They have, indeed, loaded with rewards the lowest, and most profligate tools, that would enter into their service: but the principle of the power *consigned* into their hands has manifestly been, with the most relentless cruelty, to expell from office, and place, every man, and the connections of every man, be his allegiance never so approved, his loyalty and love of his King, and his country, never so conspicuous; and tho' his, and his family's

family's services, to both, had been the most distinguished; if he could not be caught in the insidious net so widely stretched out, or refused tamely to submit to a *new* dominion, sprung up like the race of Cadmus, and that will probably end as they did, by the very similar effects of contention and discord which it has so plentifully produced.

THE same men, with an *uniform inconsistency*, have abetted and put in practice the most tyrannical proscription ever known in this country, (the worst days of arbitrary power not excepted,) and yet would set up the idea of a proscription of Tories as a scarecrow to frighten from a cordial union with one another, those who agree in vindicating, and maintaining the rights of liberty. They indeed proscribe none who will join with them, be they real Tories or false Whigs; they chuse men who do not so much as pretend to a principle, but will, as other mercenaries do, serve for their pay; for that is the only, and to too many it is an easy, term, which they require: but they have not banished a proscribing principle; they have it, and have exercised it with a witness upon the firm, and faithful friends of the House of Hanover and the Protestant succession.

Do we not see the ancient, the true pillars of the glorious revolution-settlement, to which this country owes the preservation of that liberty which was the spring of it, removed from the service of their country? The hereditary Whigs (if they must be distinguished with a name,) whose attachment to liberty, to revolution principles, and, by necessary consequence, to the august family which holds the crown by that glorious tenure of the choice of a FREE PEOPLE, who would be *free*, has not been inferior to the ardour of their ancestors in the same cause, which stood the most fiery trials;—men who have contended in zeal for the honour of the crown, and affection for the person of a king, whom his people have almost adored.—The faithful servants of their country, in the most glorious reign she ever saw—and some of them the servants of all the princes of that illustrious race, to which it was reserved to raise to its summit English glory, on the basis of English liberty, and English loyalty, happily united under that family.—These men, by the sad fluctuations of unstable power, the opposition of jarring projects, and an impotent ambition, are laid aside, (like the instruments of a day, or an hour, or a minute,

nute, which have done their work,) and are in a situation hardly better than the avowed enemies of liberty, and of the august family which supports it, ought to be; when perhaps the once open, and now only the latent, and concealed enemies of this royal family, and the sure enemies of liberty, are basking in the sun-shine favour of the family they have execrated, and it may be, yet in their hearts abhor. I could almost add, it is a situation, except in the comparison of the Princes upon the throne, much too like that, in which the determined assertors of liberty stood, in a period when the most meritorious services to an ungrateful Prince, whose reign was the curse of those who restored him, were not sufficient to wipe out the *guilt* of having contended for the CONSTITUTION. It cannot, I am sure, be said, that an approved attachment to the protestant succession, is a merit, at present, in flourishing repute, however difficult it may be to account for so extraordinary a phenomenon.

BE the causes what they will, (and I mean not to enter on so extensive, though a very plain subject, notwithstanding all the art that has been used to perplex, and mislead;) it is not defect of duty, loyalty, ability, experience, and success in the service of their country, that has excluded from it those, the want of whose assistance she languishes under. Whether the nation has gained or lost by the change, future ages will bear testimony, if any of the present should deny what it is hardly possible for the most deluded, or partial, to be insensible of, in spite of the powerful bias of interest and prejudice.

CAN we then—can Englishmen, devoted to the protestant succession, grateful to the memory of the illustrious princes of the Brunswick line, who have so nobly answered the ends, for which they were called to the government of these kingdoms—and personally attached to the prince who now fills the throne, adorned with all his own royal virtues, and with the splendor in which the glorious qualities of those progenitors transmitted it to him.—Can we be easy when we see the tried friends of that succession—of that family, of liberty, and of our country, driven into a private station?

No good subject, no true Englishman, grudges; on the contrary, all rejoice in the genuine conversion of those who did not inherit the principles of liberty, or were not so happy as to be bred up with an

attachment to the House of Hanover, and they wish to see the arms of government always open to receive them: but we are for fair grafting into the old stock, and do not like to see the natural branches cut off, to make way for foreign slips. Nor do we think too much ought to be trusted with *new* loyalty. One who shortly before would not, for the world, have drunk the *Usurper's* health, as they then called him, or own his title, may very suddenly get a new and a more happy light. But it is fit that he should give some better proof of the sincerity of his revolution principles, than receiving or wishing the profits of a good office: such late converts must excuse the old friends of liberty, for desiring to see them bring forth fruits meet for repentance; if they do, the evidence *that* will afford of what they *are*, will soon make it be forgot what they *were*.

LIBERTY and the Protestant succession will stand its ground even against false converts—those, however, of whom it might be expected, that they should be the true friends of both, and shew an equal regard to both, might reflect on the fall of a great man, who, in his day, knew the summit of ministerial power, and knew the reverse too.—Lord Clarendon was pursued to his destruction, by the animosity of a House of Commons, which he himself had, for other ends, composed of men of the most extravagant principles as to government: and these same principles, with regard to the royal power, made his own creatures not scruple to abandon him, when his virtues (and great virtues he had, though eclipsed by the notions of a misguided, and ill repaid loyalty,) made him obnoxious to an ungrateful master. This is not the only instance of even able politicians labouring their own ruin, by projects contrived by themselves. The same thing cannot, in our days, happen from such an occasion; but similar causes will always have similar effects.

POWER in the hands of men not attached to liberty, and no true friends to the principles of the constitution, nor to the family whose government is founded in them, will not spare any who are suspected of such attachments, though they may have greatly contributed to their getting the power: for of all coalitions that is the most infeasible, between men of arbitrary principles, and those who have the lowest degree of favour for liberty. These may feel the enmity of the others, when the malignancy of their principles will not be able to
harm

harm liberty; or touch the protestant succession, which supports it. Let them look to themselves who, for any purpose whatever, or in any instance, can be brought to be cold, lukewarm, and indifferent, or worse, in the cause of liberty, and to renounce their connections with the true friends of it. They lean upon a staff very apt to wound them, when they trust to the *purchased* support of those who have no real regard to either. As Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury said to the *pensioned* Parliament, *They may hardly ever find a time to make satisfaction for the omission of some opportunities they have lost.*

BUT let the true friends of liberty, those who, by their conduct, shew they are of the same sentiments, not be scared either by the name, or the practice of court proscription, from joining in the strictest union, founded in revolution principles, and attachment to the protestant succession, cemented by that harmony, and mutual good-will that are congenial with principles of so noble and generous a nature; and directed to the great objects of liberty at home, and the system of liberty abroad, which is so essential to national independency, and national happiness, against all the machinations of the common enemies of our own liberty, and of the liberty of Europe. We have seen, what an union of this sort could do; and what is it that it cannot do, that ought to be done?

It was none of the least of its achievements, for the good of this country, to stop the mouths of those * who are not ashamed now

* In the next long and laborious declamation, of a right honourable gentleman, it is hoped he will, as concisely as he can, state to us, without a fallacy, how moderate a proportion the whole charge of the German war bears to the whole of our national expence, from 1757 to the time of the resignations of his family: he will next candidly take to his own share, and to that of his worthy fellow labourers, the amount of the two last campaigns, more costly than any of the preceding. He will pleaselike to favour us with his opinion, touching the enormous increase of expence, which must necessarily have fallen upon other branches, if we had discontinued, or not engaged in the continental plan, by which the whole force of France was kept at bay. He will mark out to us too how Portugal (by them a superadded continental operation) could have been defended at all, if the house of Bourbon had been left lords paramount of Europe; and what the consequence must have been, to this commercial island. He will likewise be so kind as to inform us, what insurance office there is for the success of their plan, if they ever had any, the experiment of which however they never dared venture, thank God! When all this is done, the degree of his fault, in keeping an *interested* silence for so many sessions, may be fixed. To his great honour be it further remembered, he afterwards railed at and continued to support the very same measure. Tho' if it could ever be wise, or not the height of folly, to make so very hazardous an experiment as that of abandoning the continent, it must have been towards the close of this triumphant war, when the house of Bourbon was so reduced, that there was scarce any thing left to conquer; the facility of retaining and completing seeming to be almost as great as that of surrendering our conquests.

to confess they did not agree in opinion, only in a silent vote for measures to support these great objects; they concurred, because nothing was to be got by differing, such an union having born down all opposition, and left no room to complain. The same union, firmly adhered to, is the most likely means to bring back things to their *natural* state, in every respect. For no man who is under the powers of liberty, and of love to his King and country, can think she is in her natural state, when contrary to the experience of the two last reigns, Tories and Tory principles take the lead in court, which they never were allowed to do, and are followed and adopted by time-serving nominal Whigs; when the great families which have been the martyrs of liberty, the pillars of the revolution, and of the protestant succession, are depressed, and insulted; when the ablest ministers she ever had are out of office; when they, whose attachments to the King, and his family, as well as share in the common stake of prince, and people, should naturally hand them up to high posts, have no part in administration, the protector of the whole.

THOSE the wishes of their country follow, and to them its confidence cleaves; the wishes and confidence of a people who know, that under a prince of the house of Brunswick, there is not, there cannot be but one interest for the King, and the kingdom. The wishes and confidence of such a people, are the most effectual supplications to a throne filled as ours is, when allowed to reach it, in their own undissembled, and undisguised language.

THE king, in his first declaration, made, when but setting himself in the throne, expressed his reliance on the assistance of all HONEST MEN. It is the anxious wish of his loving people, that he may have it; and that no other may approach him—that his majesty may not be exposed to the deceit, and danger of their counsels who are not *honest men*—that he may be guarded from the errors and mistakes of those who are not *able ministers*.

PROSCRIPTION properly so called, of any but the open or concealed enemies of the constitution, and royal family now wearing the crown, is a law of terror, an engine of tyranny—not consistent with the government of GEORGE the Third.—But men of flagitious characters,

acters, loose principles, abandoned in their morals *, desperate in fortune, like Romeo's poor apothecary, and dealing in political poison;—Such men can never be safe counsellors for the state; and they will always be the disgrace of that service in which they are employed. Their vices necessarily exclude them from employment, under a prince of an opposite character, which it is our happiness to enjoy. They therefore cannot say they are proscribed, if they are either not called to, or are dismissed from office. It always has been, and always will be true, that *when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn: but when the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice.* Honest men, good and able ministers, are the stability of a wise government, the glory of a good reign, and the ornaments of a virtuous court—amongst the greatest publick blessings to the nation under their care.

ALL honest men, friends of liberty, must wish administration to be in such hands, and in none else. Such an administration they will always support, and their support will maintain and uphold it. An administration of another character they will never fail to oppose, because they always will have good reason to do it: and in this country their endeavours can hardly be long without success.

* The world has produced men, who, not content with being uncommonly wicked, have added the meaness of a strange impracticable attempt of hypocrisy to the infamy of vice; pretending a zeal for religion, and virtue, and setting up for reformers of the very wickedness which they were known to have been the masters to teach others: *traitors* to their companions in execrable debaucheries, to the love of which they continued true: *persecutors* of crimes, the infernal perfection of which constituted their own horrible distinction: chief in societies of the most unutterable abominations, and bringing to be heads of seminaries instituted to promote morality—Professors in the Devil's academy, and aspiring to be *Præfets* in Christian Universities, principally from a secret pleasure, and with a view to disgrace religion in the prostitute baseness of her servants, *Monstrum horrendum, informe ingens, cui lumen ademptum.* Would not men of such a stamp make sad ministers? They could only be given in wrath, as a curse, to any land.—From all such ministers good Lord deliver us! and also from the influence of any who could be capable of contributing to their advancement. For what should we say if we saw the court of a Prince, himself conspicuous for virtue, and zealous to encourage it, contaminated with men exceeding all others in licentiousness, profaneness, and wickedness! What should we think of those who pretended a concern for our honour, if, occasionally, to serve particular purposes, they selected for our service, and placed about us, in the most intimate situations, of access, confidence, and employment, the most profligate persons that the age, or country had produced? What hope should we conceive of reformation, so emphatically promised, when private character and public conduct testify hourly against it, to the scandal and derision of every man, who hath ears to hear, eyes to see, or a heart to feel? The prayer of the wise King Solomon was, *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne shall be established in righteousness;* and his father said, what experience has always proved, *that the wicked walk on every side, when the wise men are exalted.*

K

THE

THE worthy gentlemen of the Cocoa-Tree, manifesting such revolution principles, and persevering in such efforts, with the noble company of other patriots, will be truly honoured, and cannot but rejoice, as their country always will, in the glorious fruit of their labours, viz.—the maintenance of the rights, and privileges of the people, upholding the real honour of the crown, supporting the protestant succession, and establishing national prosperity.

BUT before I take my final leave of the Cocoa-Tree, permit me to say a few words to another part of it, and to lay before their eyes the true, not exaggerated, but lamentable picture of our country, whose misfortunes are owing to the inability (to say no worse) of that administration, in the support of which, they have sacrificed the reputation, which, during a long series of years, no less than half a century, they seemed desirous to have it thought they were labouring to acquire, and which it once looked, as if they had well nigh attained.

HAS not an inadequate, inglorious, precarious, dishonourable peace been concluded, which puts power, and riches, into the scale of the enemy, taken out of our own? Have not our allies, at the conclusion of the late glorious, and prosperous war, been abandoned, justly offended; and have they not lost all confidence in this court? Are we not at the same time, alarmed with the formidable, and unexampled union, not only of the whole House of Bourbon, amongst themselves, but combined with that of Austria, their ancient, and hereditary enemy; which not all our submissions to that haughty court, or offered treachery towards our magnanimous ally, have yet been able in the least degree to shake?

HAVE we one ally to boast of, or trust to, on the whole continent? Let us enumerate the principal powers which we can perhaps yet hope are not our enemies! How stand we with the courts of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark,—with Holland—nay even with Portugal, and Sardinia?—Our enemies can tell with pleasure.—The whole North indignant and dissatisfied; in the South the court of Portugal expecting, and fearing, to fall the first victim of that union, which we might have enfeebled, and even annihilated for ever—The formidable alliance of the House of Bourbon, apportioning, and allotting, as they please, the states of Italy—The king of Sardinia, the natural and once the firm, and useful ally of this country, necessitated,

ted, with humiliation, to look to France and to Austria, for security; and submitting to take an annual stipend from France, as an equivalent for a territory, secured to him by treaty, the great object of his wishes, and the recompence for his services, and sufferings in the common cause.

At home, what is there?—Debility, disunion, disquiet, diffidence, discontent, and the necessary consequence of all, danger.—Stocks, the barometer of the state, lower than in many periods of a draining war; publick credit, on which all stands, shaken, and drooping under the *weight* of peace, and the pressure of the worst kind of mismanagement.—The sinking fund, or, which is the same thing, the current service, loaded, and to be loaded, with the future interest of * *ten millions*; by which the salutary prospect of diminishing, by annual savings, the enormous load of debt, is cut up by the root, and national bankruptcy set before us, as the certain, and in-

* *State of the unfunded debt, March 25, 1764.*

Navy bills subscribed last year, the interest chargeable on first aids	—	3,483,553	0	0
Navy debt	—	4,046,898	0	0
Exchequer bills	—	1,800,000	0	0
German extras still due, estimated by a Right Hon. Gentleman at	—	1,000,000	0	0
		10,330,451	0	0
Deduct discharged this year of the navy debt	—	650,000	0	0
		9,680,451	0	0
	Remains	9,680,451	0	0
Add deficiency of land and malt, taken in estimate too low,	—	100,000	0	0
Estimate of Sinking fund taken too high, consequently anticipated at least to	—	400,000	0	0
	Total	10,180,451	0	0

It may be worth a few figures more to explode a puff in the same Gazetteer, which alleges, "that the Sinking Fund was this year increased 391,000*l.* by an addition of 1,400,000*l.* of tea, brought by means of the cutters, to pay duty.

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Aggregate fund, half produce of tea, 1762, as delivered in,	—	222,086	4	11½
General fund, half ditto	—	222,086	4	11½
	Total	444,072	9	11
Aggregate fund, half ditto, 1763		239,230	0	4½
		239,230	0	0½
	Total	478,460	0	9½
Increased difference only, instead of 391,000 0 0	—	34,387	10	10½
				fallible

fallible consequence of this procrastinating measure, on the first rupture; and this desperate situation principally owing to the pusillanimity and weakness of men who know no consideration, but that of prolonging, at any risk, for some small time, the receipt of emoluments, and the shadow of power, lamentably and providently industrious, indeed, in laying foundations for their own future opposition.---In the mean while, the plan of annual expence, publick and *secret*, swelled to a degree that deprives us of all resource*. Our *revenue*, consisting of *the land tax*, fixed upon us by these measures at four shillings, with the *malt*, and probable *sinking fund*, scarce more than equal even to the acknowledged *establishment of* + *annual expence*, marked out to us now, by a minister who claims

R E V E N U E.

Land-tax at 4s. and malt, taken at	2,750,000 0 0
Produce of sinking-fund at an average, as estimated by a Right Hon. Gentleman,	1,800,000 0 0

Total	4,550,000 0 0
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Out of which deduct deficiencies on land and malt, estimated at an average

350,000 0 0

Future interest on the *unfunded* debt of 10,180,451 l. at 4½ per cent. according to the present rate of stocks in interest will be at a round sum, though I admit it may be alledged, there will always be a navy debt of a million outstanding, without interest.

430,000 0 0

780,000 0 0

Total of clear revenue	3,770,000 0 0
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Total of peace establishment as above	3,519,917 15 0
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Remains of surplus to discharge the national debt of 146,000,000, supposing no accidental addition of expence, taking the highest estimate of sinking fund, and omitting encreasing expence of the militia

Total only	251,082 5 0
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+ *Establishment as taken from the state of Supply published by authority in the Gazetteer of Monday, March 19.*

The peace-establishment for the navy	1,443,568 11 9
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The army-establishment	1,509,313 14 0
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Miscellaneous articles, exclusive of the DEBT to the city of London, which is not bankrupt, on account of London-Bridge, the money for which has not been voted this year

180,035 9 3

Militia as voted this year (if general 50,000 l. short)

80,000 0 0

To which must be added, extraordinary for land and sea service, including transport of troops to America, not comprized in Gazetteer, at least

300,000 0 0

To Mr. Ba—pt To—t	7,000 0 0
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Total of annual peace establishment	3,519,917 15 0
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as his only *economical* merit, the not attempting a remedy to any of these grievances; who counteracts all his past declarations, and principles, even those of his own much loved; but by the officers of the fleet universally execrated and exploded navy bill, by leaving an immense weight of debt at market, without a fund, hovering over, and depressing all public credit—whose impotent & plan of supplies for the year, devoid of expedients, resource, and reformation, in these days of peace so necessary, and attainable, consists barely in applying, as far as they will go, the several savings of past administrations, joined to one hundred and ten thousand pounds for the renewal of the Bank contract, the land and malt taxes, together with an *over-rated* produce of the sinking fund, in effect creating a new debt. The words *economy*, and *reformation*, having lost their meaning, or rather meaning only extravagance, and corruption, beyond example.—The people justly alarmed for their liberties, attacked in their persons, their property, and even their houses, by the arbitrary violations of general warrants, and aggrieved by the most odious mode of excise.—The tools of power, oppressive in their prosecutions, (except of *Droit le Roy*, and such prerogative, and slavery systems, which ministers of state, whose eyes, and ears are open on other occasions, had neither time to see, nor hear of; and that no body who is their friend, thinks it a *friendly* act, to inform them of, lest it should compel a pro-

A Plan of Supply, taken from the Gazetteer of Monday, March 19, as published by Authority.

Under the head of extraordinaries		163,558	3	0
Militia money		150,000	0	0
Annuity fund, 1761		3497	9	9
The saving of non-effective men, brought to account in the present year		140,900	0	0
By total savings of past administration	1,157,050	12	9	
Produce of the French prizes taken before the war, lent without interest by his late Majesty to the public, which has the right to it, to indemnify part of the expence of the war, which was entirely borne by the nation,—the civil list bearing no share of any tax whatever		700,000	0	0
Renewal of Bank contract by the present administration		110,000	0	0
Land and malt taxes		2,750,000	0	0
Sinking fund		1,000,000	0	0
Borrowed on Excheq. bills to pay off the like sum of Excheq. bills		1,800,000	0	0
Total		7,817,055	12	9
		secution		

secution, in spite of tenderness): More oppressive still when prosecuted themselves, and legally convicted---ransacking every detestable artifice, for delay every infamous chicanery---*essoign*, privilege, bills of exception, the frowns of power, immensity of expence, &c. &c. under all which discouragements, and hardships, the meanest of the people have had to contend for almost a twelvemonth, and still must contend, with the greatest, who are one day encouraging, and paying defamatory libels, the next, beat at their own weapons, *under frivolous distinctions*, flying to law; and, lest that should fail, to parliament, for the means of suppressing, and punishing what was only the blessed fruit of their own example.---Such is the candour, and generosity of our reformers, such the liberty, and licentiousness of the press.---

A set of men distinguished by nothing but publick and private blemishes, even in the excess of them---possess of the reins of government---and sweets of office, present and reversionary---presuming to give law to their sovereign in the most insolent manner---even in the privacies of his friendship---that friendship, which *they* at least have applauded, and to which some of them owe their daily bread, tho' they have made their benefactor eat his in * *banishment*, the more ignominious, as they had the power to impose it, and this under the specious colour of delivering majesty from a pretended intention of the same kind of tyranny in others, who truly *feel* for the honour of their master, who never had in the late reign, or in this, a superiority of influence, but from superiority of talents and services to their king and country, and who have scorned to give themselves even the trouble of contradicting that preposterous heap of absurd falsehoods, palmed, so industriously, upon the public credulity, last autumn, certain that they would die, and stink, like their authors, in the nostrils of every honest man: A second session of parliament almost elapsed since the signature of the preliminaries, without so much as one step taken however promised, towards ameliorating our revenue, or availing ourselves, by wise, and careful re-

* The offensive, injurious, and libellous defamation of that noble Lord, with which they accompanied his expulsion from the capital, can be equalled by nothing but the prudence with which they carried on prosecutions against others; for which, it is true, expressions made the galled horse wince.

gulations,

gulations, of those *cessions*, the utility of which has been so highly magnified; and which are only as yet known to us, by the accumulation of expence; or the solicitations we hear so much of, for proprietary grants of the most valuable of them, to gratify friends and favourites of power, astonished as they are at their own exaltation, they are content to drag on, like a wounded snake, a weak, disgraced, disreputable existence; when they are conscious there is but one set of men, who can give lustre to government, and in whom alone foreign Princes, the Bourbon confederacy excepted, will, or can take a just confidence.—What character for ability, weight, or credit, has, or how can such an administration be looked upon, either abroad, or at home?

WITH a civil list of no less than eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, the *crown* revenues of all our conquests, *all* the revenues, and *all* the interest of the late king's riches, in Germany, now flowing in with the arrears, in what light of splendor does our court appear, in the eyes of the nation---in the eyes of Europe? I will not appeal to enumerations, which I am ashamed to recapitulate, and which a very *short* memory, indeed, can recollect.

If this be a true delineation, and you know it is, of the publick situation at this time, where can such of you, Gentlemen of the Cocoa-Tree, who have shewn yourselves the strenuous and hardened supporters of such measures and such principles, look for a justification of your conduct?---Can you still hope to impose upon mankind? Or, rather, are you not discovered, and known to be the tools of prerogative, and enemies to the principle of revolution freedom?---Can you, after this expostulatory account of things, have the assurance to continue in your affirmations, that the present ministers have as yet *done nothing wrong*?---Merit for them, I must do you the justice to acknowledge, you never have claimed.---Will your misrepresentations still presume to lay to the charge of the leaders of the friends of liberty, a thirst, like your own, after employments?---Men who have, almost all of them, filled, and sacrificed the greatest situations, to the love they bear their country--Will you continue to do this, when you know in your consciences, the most probable fear is, that if the wishes of the publick should succeed, an unhappy unwillingness

unwillingness will manifest itself, instead of an interested eagerness, to fill the high offices of the kingdom.

THESE important considerations are left with those of the Cocoa-Tree, who prefer principles to names, reality to professions; who are mis-called Tories, and are *indeed* friends to that system of liberty, which was founded in the expulsion of the house of Stuart, and secured by the accession of that of Hanover, under which their title being founded in freedom, it is our own fault if we are not free.

I am, &c.

F I N I S.

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